

Message Text

SECRET

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44

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /031 W

----- 085681

P R 011535Z OCT 74

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2316

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0081

EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON OCTOBER 1 MEETING (SALT TWO 449)

1. AFTER A SLANTING REFERENCE TO MY SEPT 27 STATEMENT, SEMENOV'S STATEMENT TODAY CONCENTRATED ON FBS, WITH A SLIGHT NEW TWIST TO THE EFFECT THAT FBS INCREASED THE DANGER OF ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR. (HE DID NOT IN THIS PRESENTATION MENTION WITHDRAWAL OR BASE LIQUIDATION.) MY STATEMENT DEALT WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF A HIGH DEGREE OF EQUIVALENCE IN CENTRAL SYSTEMS AND SET FORTH OUR POSITIONS ON ITS ELEMENTS, THAT IS, AGGREGATE NUMBERS, THROW-WEIGHT AND MIRV LIMITATIONS. (FULL TEXT BY SEPTEL).

2. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, SEMENOV PRESSED HARD ON FBS, SAYING HE HAD BROUGHT WITH HIM FROM MOSCOW "A SUITCASE OF MATERIAL" ON THIS SUBJECT AND EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION THAT I HAD NOT ENTERED INTO DEBATE WITH HIM ON SUBJECT. HE SAID HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER AND WAS AT A LOSS TO KNOW WHY I WOULD NOT DISCUSS IT WITH HIM. I SAID THAT, AS HE KNEW, OUR POSITION ON THIS WAS THAT THE BALANCE OF NONCENTRAL SYSTEMS DID NOT NECESSARILY FAVOR THE US AND THAT THE WAY TO DEAL WITH QUESTION WAS BY NONCIRCUMVENTION. I UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION, "WAS WILLING TO CERTIFY THAT HE HAD PRESENTED IT VIGOROUSLY AND ABLY" AND SUGGESTED THAT WE

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PUT IT ASIDE AS A MATTER UPON WHICH WE "AGREED TO DISAGREE" IN

FAVOR OF HIS PRESENTING SOVIET CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MANY IMPORTANT MATTERS THAT I HAD DEALT WITH IN MY PRESENTATIONS. I SAID THAT NO MATTER HOW FBS MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE DEALT WITH, THESE OTHER MATTERS, WHICH WERE OF OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE, WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN ANY EVENT. I POINTED OUT THAT I HAD NOT SIMPLY BEEN REITERATING OUR PREVIOUS POSITIONS BUT I WAS SURE THAT HE HAD NOTED THE DIFFERENCES IN THE CONCEPTS AND SUGGESTIONS I HAD PUT FORWARD IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY A 1985 AGREEMENT. I SAID THAT ON FRIDAY I WAS PLANNING TO EXPAND AND PRESENT FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MATTERS I HAD DISCUSSED TODAY; AND THEN ON THE FOLLOWING TUESDAY I PLANNED TO PRESENT A SERIES OF ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WOULD LARGELY COMPLETE THE SUBSTANCE OF MY PRESENTATIONS. I AGAIN SAID THAT, AS HE KNEW, WASHINGTON WAS CONSIDERING SALT QUESTIONS AND THAT I WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT I HAD NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CARRY OUT THAT PORTION OF MY INSTRUCTIONS TO OBTAIN AND TRANSMIT SOVIET VIEWS ON THE MATTERS I HAD BEEN RAISING. I SUGGESTED, AND HE AGREED, TO HAVE A PRIVATE MEETING BETWEEN US ON OCTOBER 7 AT WHICH I WOULD CAREFULLY REVIEW, AND TO THE EXTENT NECESSARY, EXPLAIN THE POSITIONS WE HAD THUS FAR TAKEN AND THE SUBSTANCE OF A STATEMENT I WOULD MAKE ON OCTOBER 8. I URGED THAT HE BE PREPARED TO ASK ANY AND ALL QUESTIONS THEY MIGHT HAVE ON OUR POSITIONS AND ASSURED HIM THAT I WOULD NOT SEEK TO INTERPRET SUCH QUESTIONING AS FORESHADOWING ANY PARTICULAR SOVIET POSITION OR VIEW ON THE ISSUES.

3. IN SUBSEQUENT BILATERALS, SHCHUKIN CAREFULLY AND DELIBERATELY DREW MAY'S ATTENTION TO FACT THAT SOVIET FBS STATEMENT TODAY DID NOT CALL FOR "ELIMINATION OF BASES BUT RATHER ONLY CALLED FOR "TAKING FORWARD BASE SYSTEMS INTO CONSIDERATION", AND ALSO NOTED THAT THEIR STATEMENT DEALT ONLY WITH NUCLEAR CAPABLE AIRCRAFT.

4. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ROWNY, BELETSKY SHOWED MUCH INTEREST IN, AND ASKED PERTINENT QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR STATEMENT TODAY, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO NUMBERS AND THROW-WEIGHT, INCLUDING AN ALLOWANCE FOR HEAVY BOMBERS, BUT HE DID NOT REFER TO MIRVS. ON THE CONTRARY, IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH KLOSSON AND EARLE, KARPOV AND SMOLIN SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN UNDERSTANDING OUR CONCEPT ON MIRVS. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CollinP0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974SALTT00081
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740276-1091
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741081/aaaacrjh.tel
Line Count: 98
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CollinP0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUN 2002 by rowelle0>; APPROVED <07 MAR 2003 by CollinP0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COMMENTS ON OCTOBER 1 MEETING (SALT TWO 449)
TAGS: PARM, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005